

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 02260

EXDIS

E.O.11652: GDS  
TAGS: XA, XJ, CG, OAU, SREF, BE, FR  
SUBJECT: A CENTRAL AFRICAN CONFERENCE

1. THE EMERGING REACTIONS TO THE FRENCH-INITIATED CONFERENCE NEXT WEEK RAISE SERIOUS CONCERN THAT THE FURTHER WE GO IN THE FRENCH-BELGIAN EFFORT TO MEET THE CRITICAL PROBLEMS IN SHABA/ZAIRE THE MORE WE RISK POLARIZATION THAT WILL HURT US IN AFRICA. AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE FOR SHABA, AS IT APPEARS TO BE DEVELOPING WITH LARGELY FRANCOPHONE AFRICAN PARTICIPATION, RISKS A DEEP SPLIT IN THE OAU. WESTERN BACKING FOR BOTH THE FORCE AND THE ECONOMIC SALVAGE JOB IN ZAIRE RISKS CONFRONTATION WITH MOST OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE MOBUTU IN AFRICA, AND WITH THEIR BLOC SUPPORTERS-- GIVING AN EAST-WEST CAST TO THE REACTION. US AND WESTERN INVOLVEMENT IN THIS PATTERN WILL STRIKE TOO MANY AFRICANS AS A THROWBACK TO PAST ERAS, WHEN WHITE COLONIALISTS WERE WILLING TO TAKE ANY ACTIONS TO PROTECT THEIR RESOURCES AND FINANCIAL INVESTMENTS.

2. THERE SEEMS TO BE NO FEASIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO SWIFT ACTION TO REESTABLISH SECURITY IN SHABA SO THAT PRODUCTION THERE CAN RESUME. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO CONSIDER PERMANENT USE OF EUROPEAN FORCES. THEREFORE,  
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THE AFRICAN FORCE CONTEMPLATED BY THE FRENCH APPEARS TO BE THE BEST WE CAN HOPE FOR AT THE MOMENT. WE MUST WORK TO MAKE THE PARIS AND BRUSSELS MEETINGS SUCCESSFUL.

3. WE FEEL STRONGLY, HOWEVER, THAT WE MUST SEEK SOME MEANS TO DISTANCE OURSELVES FROM FRENCH LEADERSHIP

IN AFRICA AND FROM BASICALLY EUROPEAN SALVAGE OPERATION IN ZAIRE THAT HAS LIMITED CHANCES OF SUCCESS. WE URGE THAT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO A DRAMATIC US STATEMENT AND CALL FOR TRULY INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROBLEMS OF CENTRAL AFRICA. TIMING IS DEBATABLE IN RELATION TO THE PARIS AND SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS, BUT STATEMENT SHOULD COME SOON IF IT IS TO PREVENT POLARIZATION OF THE SITUATION AND DAMAGE TO OUR LONGER-TERM CREDIBILITY AND CAPACITY FOR LEADERSHIP AMONG AFRICANS.

4. THE STATEMENT SHOULD:

-PLACE US OBJECTIVES IN A LARGER FRAMEWORK THAN THE BAIL-OUT OPERATION IN ZAIRE.

-SET FORTH AN OPEN, OBJECTIVE SUMMARY OF THE POLITICAL DILEMMAS CONFRONTING THE WORLD IN CENTRAL AFRICA, INCLUDING MOBUTU'S NEED TO REFORM, THE CROSS-BORDER HOSTILITIES KEPT ALIVE BY BOTH ZAIRE AND ANGOLA, THE PROBLEMS OF REFUGEES, ESPECIALLY KATANGAN, THE EAST-WEST POTENTIAL IN THE SITUATION, ETC.

-LAY DOWN US OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES IN RELATION TO THE CENTRAL AFRICAN PROBLEM: PARTICULARLY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, RES-

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PECT FOR FRONTIERS, STABILITY FOR INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT AND NON-POLITICAL ASSISTANCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS FROM THE OUTSIDE.

-PROPOSE A SENIOR-LEVEL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE TO BE HELD AT AN APPROPRIATE AFRICAN CAPITAL UNDER AFRICAN SPONSORSHIP.

5. THE MAIN THRUST OF THIS SUGGESTION IS TO PROJECT A US POSITION THAT WILL BE VIABLE IN AFRICA, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME BROADENING THE BASE OF AFRICAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR OWN PROBLEMS. YOUNG

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